

LONDON, MAY 12, 1855.

Although Lord John Russell is not, properly speaking, a member of the Democratic party, and probably would decline the title of a leader of the people; although he undoubtedly belongs to the aristocracy, possessing sentiments, feelings, and opinions in harmony with his place in society; yet he is a man of great foresight and wisdom; he perfectly comprehends what is coming to pass, and is apparently prepared to witness great and organic changes in the framework of European society, without expressing and perhaps without feeling any very great or overpowering regrets. The undisturbed preponderance of the oligarchy is at an end, even in conservative England, and Lord J. Russell, as a statesman, is among the first to proclaim this important truth to the world. The greatness of his views, and the consummate prudence which is so prominent in his character, recommend him to the confidence of the House of Commons and the approbation of the people; but, at the same time, they call down upon him the envy and hatred of the oligarchy and the vituperative personality of Mr. Disraeli. The persecution which Mr. Disraeli systematically pursued Sir Robert Peel has now commenced practising towards Lord J. Russell. But the objects of his spite are very different men. Sir Robert Peel was of a painfully sensitive temperament, and felt the stings of his persecutor. Lord J. Russell regards the fortitude of his antagonist with silent contempt, and seldom stoops to notice it. Towards the Earl of Derby his Lordship does not exhibit the same indifference. He considers him as a more worthy antagonist, not because he is a peer, but because he is a gentleman. What he thinks of Lord Derby and of his policy he has more than once forcibly expressed:

"It was said last year," said his Lordship, "and I think it was proof of little wisdom in him who said it, that he would endeavor to rule this country so that the advance of democracy, depend on it as the ruler who sets himself to check the advance of democracy will but increase the irritation and augment the influence of the power against which he sets himself; but if you consult the interests of the people you will make democracy conservative; you will carry democracy with you instead of having to oppose it as an enemy."

It may be asked, how is the Government to carry the democracy with it? Lord John Russell evidently means that the business is to be effected in a legitimate way, by reforms and improvements of English institutions. Mr. Disraeli took occasion the other evening to express the fears of his patrons on the subject of the concessions to the democracy which the present Government is making or has promised to make. With a sophistry ludicrously extravagant, he contended that the imposition of the legacy duty on the succession to land would cause the aristocracy to lose their position as a privileged order. Since this phrase "privileged order" or "class" has been introduced into the political vocabulary, it has been invariably employed to signify a small body of men enjoying certain political and social immunities at the expense of the majority; and it is these immunities which Mr. Disraeli wishes to preserve to his political supporters, and of which he accuses Mr. Gladstone and Lord John Russell of a democratic design to rob them. Mr. Disraeli thought he was insulting Lord John Russell the other night by asserting that he was holding a subordinate office under a subordinate of Sir Robert Peel. The public think very differently, and regard the position occupied by his Lordship as the most honorable that a man can hold. He is, in fact, the Minister; it is his policy that is carried out; his views that are adopted; his principles regulate the conduct of the Administration. No man in Great Britain, no man in Europe, occupies at this moment a prouder position than Lord John Russell. He does so by carrying out his own maxims and making the democracy of the country conservative. He does this by raising the condition of the people, and by giving every man the power of having something to conserve or preserve in the shape of property; by enabling every one to possess a stake in the country, not perhaps in acres of land, but in a comfortable home, profitable labor, equal rights, and the protection of the laws for whatever he may possess, how little soever that may be. The great bulk of the people are rapidly feeling and acknowledging that in their improved condition they possess something worth preserving and defending; so far, therefore, they are conservative, and seek no change. That this healthy state of things has been produced by the suggestively adopted policy of Sir Robert Peel and Lord J. Russell, very few persons will now be disposed to question. Mr. Disraeli and Lord Derby are the representatives of those who do, and Lord J. Russell is exposed to the coarse personality of the one and the unmanly outbreaks of temper of the other, on account of the share he has had in the business.

It is sometimes asked, who are the men of enlightened and liberal views who will succeed to and carry out the policy of the men of the present day? It is time that the people of England felt themselves in some degree prepared with an answer. Lord Lansdowne has considerably passed his threescore years and ten, Lord Palmerston is in his seventieth year, Lord Aberdeen the same age; Lord J. Russell, Lord Cranworth, and Sir Jas. Graham each above sixty. We think we see even in the present Cabinet worthy successors of these Nestors of legislation. There are Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Newcastle and another, the Earls of Clarendon and Granville, and Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Frederick Peel, all "worthy men and true," all tried, all capable, and all young enough to bear the weight of official cares and duties for many years after their official life shall have "shed off this mortal coil." On this head we feel we can exclaim, *Nihil desperandum*, even without need to account the numbers young men yet untired who may achieve their own fame as statesmen and their country's welfare as patriots.

Mr. Gladstone has lately taken a great step towards celebrity. His budget, although faulty in some minor respects, is admitted by fair speaking men of all parties to be admirably adapted to the necessities of the country, and peculiarly fitted to its present position; whilst its excellent way in which he has explained and advocated it has proved him to be a skillful and powerful debater. There is about Mr. Gladstone a tone of steady feeling and deep-seated opinion which will, we think, preserve him from the petulance and personality of even Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Gladstone has what, in mercantile parlance, is called "great transacting ability." He is laborious, and makes a point of finishing his work. He has proved himself an able financier, and his manner of dealing with financial subjects has something very open and straightforward about it. We like, says the *Inquirer*, a Chancellor of the Exchequer to say:

"Mr. Speaker, I know that it has been said that two and two make four. My honorable friend the member for Montrose [Mr. Hume] has during many years made himself conspicuous by advocating that assertion, and I will simply consider of the entire subject, I must say I think there is a great deal which may be very fairly said in behalf of it; but, without committing myself to that opinion as an abstract sentiment, I may be permitted to assume that two and two do not make five, which will be amply sufficient for all the operations which I propose to enter upon during the present year;" and this is very nearly what Mr. Gladstone does say.

In many respects certainly Mr. Gladstone is the most prominent of the young statesmen of England, and bids the fairest to occupy the very highest position. We do not mean to say, however, that he is a man who is quite sure of his ground. He used to be called rather a "cricket-ball man;" this was perhaps rather too strong a term, yet there is certainly a tinge of over subtlety in his intellect. He wrote, when a young man, "a misty treatise on the church;" and about the same time made some speeches which no one understood. We do not think, however, that his extreme theoretical views upon theological matters are ever likely to revive so far as to interfere with his practical ideas as a statesman and a financier. This is the month when London is redolent of Exeter Hall meetings and pious and charitable and benevolent gatherings of all descriptions; many of them, we are sorry to say, betray in the speeches made during the plat-

form more of a sectarian and intolerant spirit than of the broad and universal principle of Christian philanthropy. The population which throngs the streets of London during the month of May is as justly affected by these demonstrations. Instead of preventing the usual motley aggregation of self-sufficing and mind-your-own-business passengers, it during the present portion of the month, exhibits a great proportion of two distinct classes—Quakers and Clergymen. The usual London features are nearly absorbed, and broad-brims and white cravats predominate. We are not versed enough in the history of by-gone times to know how it is that all these annual gatherings have crowded themselves in the month of May; we only know that May meetings are, at any rate, a *fait accompli*. We all know that the month of May first became notorious in the calendar in connection with the worship of a heathen goddess. Afterwards the May-pole became a symbol of High Church tendencies, under the auspices of Archbishop Laud. In more modern times it became the occasion on which certain sombre spirits revived their acquaintance with the features of humanity, and, as disinterested persons, took the lead in welcoming in the warmth of summer, although it put a stop to all fires except those of the kitchen, and of course never broke up the trade of chimney-sweeping. But even *Jack in the Green* has lost much of his pristine glory, and modern science and modern humanity have wrought a change even in the art of the chimney-sweep. The machinery of brushes, rods, and levers has superseded the use of the man or rather boy-machine, and the cruelties of a past age have become the subject of nursery legends. At present the genius of philanthropic piety has taken possession of the month; and this year at least the May of the poets is neither fair nor dowerly, but cold, wet, and uncomfortable. But a word or two about this congregated charity, this consolidated piety, this organized and systematized benevolence. We do not coincide with those who attribute to the oratory of the May platform an efficacy exceeding the quiet and unassuming labors of the rest of the year. We infinitely prefer the judicious distribution of this world's wealth according to the natural charities of an individual's own sphere of life, and within the natural range and influence of that sphere, and the circle of his own personal knowledge and superintendence. We like the charity which lets not the left hand know what the right hand doeth. We rejoice not in the "unprecedented pecuniary collections" which startle our eyes in the records of the present month, spasmodic in their nature, and fearfully weakened in their efficacy by an intervening medium of secretaries and treasurers. We do not deny, however, the value of these annual public loosings of the purse-strings; we wish there was less ostentation in them, and that they were not so often regarded by the contributors as charitable compositions for the year, and as reasons for keeping the said purse-strings very close during the remainder of it. So much, and more than enough probably, of this peculiar phase of London life.

Mr. GAYAN DUFFY'S Irish freak in the House of Commons last week was a check upon public business, but will probably be productive of good. Mr. DUFFY has placed himself upon a bad eminence; he was more respected as the consistent friend and brother in affliction with Messrs. O'BRIEN, MEAGHER, and MITCHELL, than he is now as the originator of charges which he has not the power to make good or the principle to withdraw; but he has furnished another reason for the most rigid inquiry into the construction of the House of Commons and for a thorough reform of the abuses attending that construction.

In the House of Lords on Friday the Lunacy Bills were read a third time and passed. In the House of Commons Lord John Russell announced that the Government intended to bring in a measure to disqualify persons employed in Government dockyards from voting at elections. Mr. DUFFY rose, in a house crowded in every part, and manifesting the most marked attention, to make a statement in reference to his conduct on the preceding evening. He said Mr. Disraeli had pronounced his language to have been perfectly parliamentary; but Lord John Russell had denied positively the truth of this assertion. He therefore had no alternative but to maintain his ground, and he was prepared to maintain it in any manner, and at any time that it pleased the House. At the same time he felt bound to state that, in making the charge, he had not intended to allege corruption of a pecuniary kind; he had simply alluded to the abandonment of their pledges by Irish members, and their subsequent acceptance of offices with salaries attached. Lord John Russell said he had understood the charge of Mr. DUFFY in a different manner. Corruption under Sir Robert Walpole meant gifts of money to secure support; and the expression, as now interpreted, certainly did not make that charge, and indeed could scarcely be considered disorderly. This charge will of course now "sleep the sleep that knows no waking," unless Mr. SALMON or Mr. KNOX make a personal matter of it.

On Monday another attempt was made to defeat the proposed income tax, by a good deal of speciousness and a division upon a mere matter of detail. Ministers were, however, supported by a vote of 276 against 201. On Tuesday, upon a division on an open question, in reference to the inspection of nunneries in England, a motion was carried, in opposition to the expressed opinion of Lord John Russell, by a majority of 23 in a thin house.

A return has been presented to Parliament showing the number of railway accidents which have occurred in the United Kingdom within the last six months. They amount to 133 persons killed and 387 injured during that period. The number of passengers conveyed within the six months was 49,880,124.

Mr. CHAMBERS, in the course of his speech on Wednesday night in the House of Commons respecting nunneries, stated that there were seventy-five Roman Catholic nunneries in England and Wales, and no less than one hundred *anglo-catholic* nunneries professing to be guided by the principles of the church of England, but holding 3,000 females in a state of mental and bodily subjugation. These are statements which have startled the Protestant public in England, and will no doubt greatly surprise the world at large.

The Bank of England makes the following exhibit:

Circulation	£23,124,555	Decrease	£284,775
Gold and silver	18,355,994	Decrease	199,087
Public deposits	8,394,323	Decrease	221,323
Other deposits	12,922,620	Decrease	284,303
Reserve unemployed	9,230,539	Decrease	84,888

The next returns are expected to exhibit an increase of bullion.

In literature several new books are announced. Mr. MURRAY has ready for publication the third and fourth volumes of "George Grenville's Diary;" "Life in Abyssinia," by MANFIELD PEARSON; Dr. Hook's "Discourses upon some of the controversies of the day;" and JONAS PALMER'S "Solitary Rambles and Adventures of a Hunter in the Prairies." Messrs. LONGMAN & Co. have ready "Burton's History of Scotland," "Memoirs of the Earl of Peterborough," by the author of "Hochelaga," and the Rev. ARTHUR MARTINEAU'S "Church History in England." Republications of many American books are announced.

In France it is no exaggeration to say that with a vast mass of individuals there is now but one thought, an exclusive attention to business and money-making. A late London journal says:

"You will find in a vast majority of instances Frenchmen determined to enrich themselves. In the provinces of this country you will find more misery than in any country in the world. The French peasant knows nothing beyond the golden calf. The men of Balzac in Eugenie Grandet's profound type of the French provincial. Next in rank of money worship stand the small shopkeepers of the towns, a majority of whom merit most emphatically the term of thieves behind the counter. All men are money-makers now, even more than under Louis Philippe. In high and low, rich and poor, exists the degrading desire to become rich, and the Government is daily called on to start some new speculation to gratify the lust of gold. The public funds are looked on as a very poor resource. One day will come when the nation, it is speculated of a more risky character than are required, and the cry is every day, wanted a new company. Something gigantic, something immense is talked of as likely soon to come forth, to absorb the loose cash of the exuberant capitalists. One day will come when, and then France will feel once more another Law excitement."

The budget of Mr. Gladstone is hailed by the liberal party in France with rapture; it is also favorably received by the population, which already trades largely with

England. Butter, eggs, fowls, cheese, fruits will rise in the market, and the agricultural provinces of the West have reason to rejoice. The inferiority of France in every thing connected with commerce is shown by the progress of the commercial baries of other countries in her own land. In the first three months of 1855 there entered into French ports 1,553 French ships of 178,375 tons; this year there entered but 1,424 vessels of 176,493 tons. On the other hand, in the same period of the year 1852 there entered into French ports 2,086 foreign vessels of 297,421 tons, while in 1853 the number has advanced to 2,203 vessels of 309,109 tons. The English flag enters largely into the account."

The citizens of London are holding up to their municipal authorities the example of the Parisian functionaries, who, under the authority and direction of the French Emperor, are making such extensive alterations in the French capital. The expenses of placing constructions in the vicinity of the Louvre in harmony with that building will amount to..... 62,500,000 francs. And the central markets..... 37,300,000 " Or in round numbers.....100,000,000 " But the materials of the houses taken down and sale of the ground, &c., with the contribution of the State of 13,000,000 francs, will amount to..... 32,000,000 " Absolute cost..... 68,000,000 " A loan of 50,000,000 francs, owing to the credit of the city, produced..... 61,000,000 " Leaving to provide for..... 7,000,000 " Which will be more than covered by the surplus of the receipts over the expenses of the last year and the present one. The entire debt of the city is 75,000,000 francs, one-third of which will be reimbursed in 1858, and the city means will pay off the whole in 1870. Our London financiers say a little management would enable the magnates of that city to execute improvements upon a large scale as are now being carried on in Paris.

The *Corps Legislatif* has passed the jury bill, by which the majority of seven against five is sufficient for the condemnation of the accused. A bill is now before the Council of State for the re-establishment of the punishment of death for political offences.

The following communication from Paris, extracted from the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* of the 27th ult., explains the present journey of the King of Belgium to Berlin and Vienna, and agrees with an intimation given a few days back that within twenty-four hours of news arriving in Paris of any extreme step being taken by Austria or Prussia against Turkey, a French army would be en route for Brussels:

"A thing happened lately in Belgium, of which the Belgian nor the French journals neither speak, nor will probably speak. At the commencement of the difficulties arising out of the Oriental question, the verbal note of Graf Leiningen's being sent to Constantinople, the French Government was for a moment taken by surprise. People had been far from expecting such a decisive demeanor as Austria showed, and were of opinion that it would have been better to have informed France previously of this 'sharp practice.' The arrival of the verbal note of Graf Leiningen's being sent to Constantinople, the French Government was for a moment taken by surprise. People had been far from expecting such a decisive demeanor as Austria showed, and were of opinion that it would have been better to have informed France previously of this 'sharp practice.' The arrival of the verbal note of Graf Leiningen's being sent to Constantinople, the French Government was for a moment taken by surprise. 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